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East-West federation termed best solution to dilemma of Germany

THE WESTERN BIG THREE, frozen in their anti-Soviet positions, seemed utterly confused last week by Moscow's Nov. 10 announcement that it would hand over power in its zone of Berlin to the East German Democratic Republic.

There was much tough talk—mainly from Washington—about the U.S., Britain and France firmly holding on to West Berlin and refusing to discuss their status with the GDR. West German Chancellor Adenauer dutifully echoed the line. But when two weeks passed without any overt action by Moscow, news of disagreement among the NATO powers began to leak out.

Britain was said to be willing to consult the GDR about its status in West Berlin and about passage through the 100 miles of East German territory between Berlin and West Germany. The U.S. was reported to believe that Soviet Premier Khrushchev was bluffing. Adenauer's hard-boiled cronies were said to be egging the U.S. on to force its way between West Germany and Berlin if the Soviets or East Germans resorted to the 1948 type of blockade of Berlin. Paris remained mum on the subject.

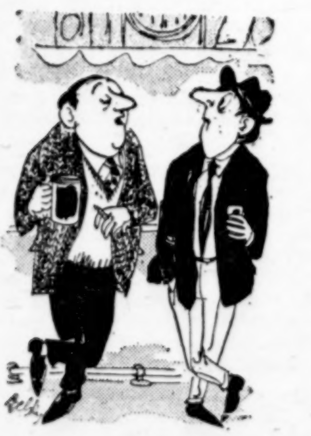
NORTHERN ANGER: Scandinavian members of NATO, long opposed to West German rearmament, were reported furious at the news that West Germans would be armed with nuclear weapons. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), visiting Berlin last week, hastily said he was against giving nuclear arms to the Bonn army; but his assurance that the Democratic Party would support U.S. determination to hold on to West Berlin disturbed many NATO diplomats.

However, two weeks after Moscow's Nov. 10 statement on Berlin, no crisis had developed. Neither the Soviet Union nor the East Germans had by then placed any obstacles in the way of the 100-mile traffic. Moscow, in fact, seemed to be weighing its next moves with utmost care after laying down the principle that Berlin belonged to East Germany and that it was time for East and West Germany to get together on unification.

Khrushchev said Moscow had no desire to precipitate a fight over Berlin. He added that he would have "definite proposals" about Germany soon.

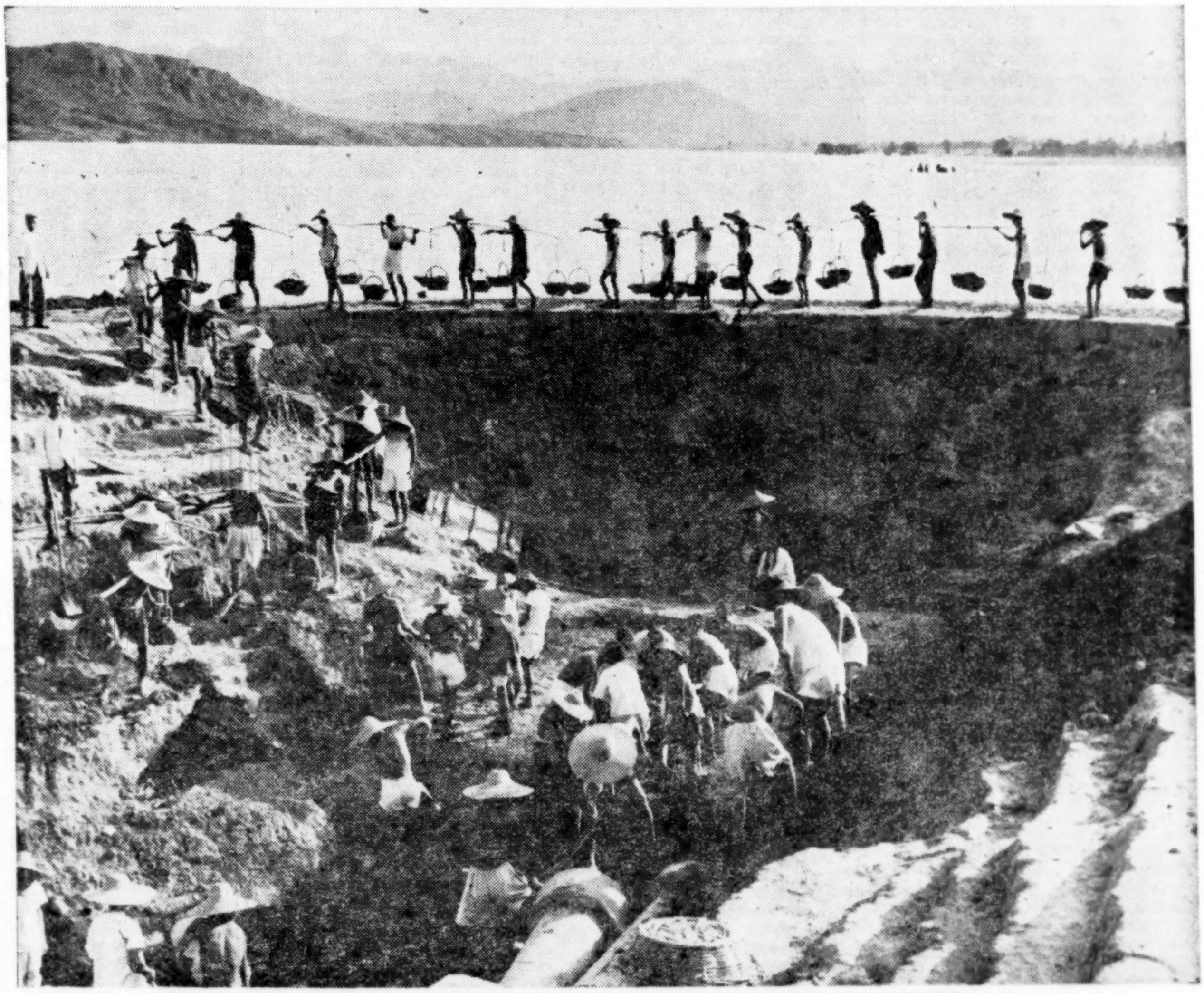
CONFIDENTIAL CONFERENCE: On Nov. 20, Moscow's Ambassador to Bonn, Andrei Smirnov, conferred with Adenauer, after which the Chancellor summoned the U.S., British and French chiefs of mission to a conference. Close-mouthed officials said the meetings were

(Continued on Page 4)



Belsky in London Herald

"Of course I'm not worried about radiation risks—I'm insured against them."



THE WHOLE WORLD'S TALKING ABOUT CHINA'S PEOPLE'S COMMUNES

Here a Weising commune puts the finishing touches on a spillway for a reservoir which will irrigate 16,500 acres of farmland. See Anna Louise Strong's first story from China on the communes, p. 7

SUPREME COURT HEARS ARGUMENTS

Could these three cases end witch-hunts?

THE FUTURE of witch-hunting in the U.S. was placed in the hands of the Supreme Court last week. The Court heard arguments in three cases that fundamentally challenge the rights of state and Federal legislative committees to investigate a witness' politics or to force disclosure of the membership rolls of organizations under fire.

THE UPHAUS CASE: New Hampshire's witch-hunt is in the hands of a one-man committee, State Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman. Wyman chose as his prime target World Fellowship Inc. and its leader, a distinguished educator and pacifist, Dr. Willard Uphaus, who describes himself as a "Christian socialist." Each summer World Fellowship runs a camp at Albany, N.H., and invites a series of lecturers.

In 1954 Wyman called in Uphaus and demanded a list of all camp guests for the two previous summers and the file of Uphaus' correspondence with his lecturers. Uphaus refused both requests. He was brought to trial and convicted of contempt. He was sentenced to stay in jail until he purged himself by complying with Wyman's demand. The verdict was appealed to the State Supreme Court which upheld the lower court in a 3-2 decision. Uphaus, who is free on bail, appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which held hearings last week.

PIPE DREAMS: Wyman told the Court that "public interest" in the disclosures to be elicited by his questions to Uphaus outweighed considerations of free speech and association. He asked: "Were these people just having a pipe fest or were they plotting subversion?" He said he needed Uphaus' correspondence because one of the letters might contain a suggestion to a lecturer that he advocate violent overthrow of the government. When Wyman admitted that his supposition "sounds incredible," the newly-appointed Justice Potter Stewart broke in: "But isn't it absolutely incredible? That isn't the way you plot revolution."

Attorney Royal W. France who, along with Leonard Boudin, argued the case, said that Uphaus was "an unusual man who takes quite literally the Sermon on the Mount.' The defense has been aided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The case raises two basic questions, the lawyers pointed out: (1) In view of the Steve Nelson decision by the Supreme Court in 1956, which wiped out sedition laws in many states, has any state legislature the right to investigate alleged subversion? (2) Does the demand to divulge guest lists or membership rolls infringe on the freedom of speech and association?

THE SCULL CASE: The latter question

(Continued on Page 9)

Inside the Guardian this week

The Soviet Union's new seven-year plan .... p. 3
Where Puerto Ricans work in New York........... p. 5
Iraq fights its way out of feudalism .... p. 6
China's communes—a first-hand report .... p. 7
Virginia reappraises 'massive resistance' .... p. 9

THE MAIL BAG

Heroic article

ARLINGTON, MASS.

I would consider myself remiss if I failed to let you know my reaction to the splendid, I might even say herioc, article in the Nov. 10 issue entitled "Medievalism in the Age of Sputnik." This is a specimen of courageous journalism which is altogether too rare.

Protestant and other liberals figuratively lean over backward to avoid the charge of bigotry. How foolish! To be aware of an enemy who would destroy you is a challenge not merely to protect yourself but to destroy your enemy before he destroys you.

Let me say in closing that the GUARDIAN deserves the honor and respect of all intellectual liberals. May its light never flicker or fail.

John E. Swensen

Opiates

WHITNEY, TEX.

Whether or not what Marx said about religion being the opiate of the people is so, the business interests of the country seem to be doing as much as they can to make it so.

The preachers of course go along with it in a big way as it boosts their importance, prestige and salaries.

D. W. King

Encl.: Full-page ad from the Dallas Morning News *sponsored by 49 advertisers, with the slogan "Everyone in the Church . . . The Church is Everyone"*
—Editor

First mutations?

WORCESTER, MASS.

An AP dispatch, datelined Tunica, Miss., tells of thousands of six-legged frogs appearing around a nearby lake. The extra pair of legs have grown out of the right side of the frog's back.

Dr. J. I. McClurkin stated: "There must be thousands of them, all several months old and **of the same generation.**"

Is this not a warning of possible mutations that may come as a result of atomic bomb tests? Yet, our irresponsible military continues to loose potentially dangerous radioactives to saturate our atmosphere, our waterways, our vegetation with the poisonous residue of atom bombs.

Belmont Sumner

Motes and beams

CHICAGO, ILL.

On the matter of tears, lamentations and interpretations on Pasternak, his novel and the pros and cons, I wonder if the editors and writers of letters and comment on the issue stop to think that what they allege, happens, and is happening, every day in myriad ways to the Afro-Americans here in the U.S.

The demagogues and opportunistic pseudo-intellectuals—and "liberals"—jump at a Pasternak situation to attack the U S.S.R., while 18 million fellow Americans and human beings, under their very noses, suffer far more indignities alleged to Pasternak.

I do not have to tell you and the readers about the Nobel prize distributors who have ignored America's leading peace exponent and intellectual, a Negro, the noted Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. In this the controllers of the Nobel prize symbolize nearly every avenue of American thought and life—from the present leaders of the official American labor movement, publishers, educators and liberals, whether they be Democrat or Republican.

Ishmael P. Flory

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

JONESBORO, Ark., Nov. 18 (AP)—Rep. Oren Harris, D., Ark., says "Gov. Faubus' dependability and leadership . . . place him in a position for consideration by Democrats as President of the United States."

— Herald-Tribune, Nov. 19

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. W., New York, N. Y.

N.Y. rent control

BRONX, N.Y.

The Bronx Council on Rents & Housing sees the future of rent control in a very grave danger. The State Legislature is to act early in 1959 on rent control. Only the tenants can make sure it gets a new lease on life. We must start now to campaign for a strong control law without the fatal loopholes which give the landlords huge profits and allow buildings to deteriorate. The tenants want decent housing at decent rentals—not rat traps at any rentals.

We must start now with plans for a big delegation to Albany. We are asking that contributions of time and money be given on a sustaining basis.

The apartment you save will be your own.

Bronx Council on Rents
910 Southern Blvd.
Bronx 59, N.Y.

For Dorothy Einermann

LEONIA, N.J.

The enclosed check is from a group of friends in memory of Dorothy Einermann, wife of Fred Einermann, of Ramsey, N.J. Through the years, since the GUARDIAN was first published, Mrs. Einermann was a strong booster of the paper. We who knew her shall miss her.

Angelica Boles

For Morris Rubin

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Morris Rubin died last month, a day after government agents visited his home. For seven years he had been under sentence of deportation under the inhuman provisions of the Walter McCarran law.

Despite the years of harassment by the Immigration & Naturalization Service, the almost intolerable indignities to which a deportee is subject, Morris Rubin's life was one of hard work, devotion to his family and unceasing concern for the rights of his fellow workers.

For almost 40 years he worked here, a skilled upholsterer. He helped to organize and became a charter member of the Furniture Workers Union. Together with his wife, Frieda, and their son, Jimmy, he looked forward to his birthday celebration Nov. 15. Then, on Nov. 5, two agents visited the Rubin home, and on Nov. 6 Morris Rubin was found dead.

For the Rubins, as for the families and friends and employers of all deportees and all foreign born non-citizens, the questioning and intimidation were nothing new. The constant fear of summary deportation hangs over every deportee and his family.

Morris Rubin's death was caused by the cumulative strain of years of existence under the intense pressures of constant harassment which he knew would continue to cloud the years ahead.

How many more lives must be lost, how many more families broken and tortured before the cruel Walter-McCarran law is repealed?

Los Angeles Committee
for the Foreign Born
326 W. Third St.

Vie Nuove, Rome

"Heavens! It's my wife!"

Krebiozen

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

One of the hottest controversies raging today is over the merits of Krebiozen. Despite the fact that 70% of 1,700 cancer cases submitted to the American Cancer Society showed marked improvement and in many cases "cures" (patients alive up to 5 years after having their cases diagnosed as hopeless) this organization refuses to give the drug a fair test. The "Double Blind" test has been called "eminently fair" by Sen. Douglas of Illinois. It is literally a matter of life and death to thousands of victims of cancer that this test be made. Those interested may write to: Dr. Harold S. Diehl, senior vice president for research and medical affairs, American Cancer Society, Inc., 521 W. 57th St., New York 19, N.Y. Copies should also be mailed to Dr. John A. Rogers, American Cancer Society, Illinois Division, 139 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill., and to your Senators.

Thomas Grabell

Vote in Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The final vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator in Minnesota, William M. Curran, was 5,407. The Socialist Labor Party candidate (which runs under the name of Industrial Government Party) polled 10,858 votes for their candidate for Governor.

This represents the largest vote polled by the SWP in Minnesota in the past 12 years. In 1956, Dobbs and Weiss received 1,098 votes, in 1954 our senatorial candidate 4,684; and in 1952 under 5,000.

Fannie Curran

Long way 'round

WARWICK, R.I.

I discovered your paper about a year ago while living in Paris and since that time have been hunting for your address. At last a friend has finally sent it to me. Please enter a sub for me. I thank all of you for the wonderful job that you are doing.

Edward T. Lewis Jr.

Ten years ago in the Guardian

IN THE COURSE of an election campaign, mistakes are inevitably made. Engrossed in a fight to get on the ballot, we naturally made errors in some other aspects of campaign strategy.

We did not effectively show the people why they can expect no progressive legislation on domestic issues as long as we foster and finance the cold war.

We let Truman demagogue our program away from us. We let him pose as a seeming proponent of FDR's New Deal.

But that is all behind us. We must now look to the future. Work must be done in every community to organize a permanent political organization. There is no substitute for hard work.

—Vito Marcantonio, Dec. 6, 1948

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

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Vol. 11, No. 7 401 December 1, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

It was quite a party

OUR TENTH ANNIVERSARY celebrants in New York jammed the ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt Nov. 20 for one of Mrs. Roosevelt's fine pot-roast dinners, a spell of star-gazing with our astronomer friend, Dr. Harlow Shapley, and a round of good wishes from all over creation.

On our behalf, a tape-recorded message from Cedric Belfrage in Bombay repaid the many compliments with these words:

"No publication was ever blessed with a readership who so deeply understood and so warmly responded to its problems. You have been the chief instrument in giving the GUARDIAN shape and roots, with your friendly criticism and counsel; and have imbued us with that sense of responsibility which one has toward one's family.

"**Zindabas** (cheers) to you all from beneath my twirling ceiling fan on the shores of the Indian Ocean."

IN THE COURSE of the evening the GUARDIAN and its readers were extolled by Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, the sister of one of the Trenton Six. Mrs. Mitchell initiated the struggle for the lives of these six men in the GUARDIAN's earliest days. She recalled the lift it gave her fight for the six when the GUARDIAN took up the case as its first campaign in Oct., 1948. A new trial affirmed the innocence and reversed the death sentences of the six and brought freedom to all except Mrs. Mitchell's brother, who died of a heart attack as freedom awaited him. Mrs. Mitchell's moving tribute was the emotional highlight of our tenth anniversary evening.

Mrs. Helen Sobell spoke in a similar vein of the GUARDIAN's part in the fight for a new trial for her husband, Morton Sobell, convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for alleged espionage conspiracy—a case brought to world attention by the GUARDIAN in 1951, resulting in clemency pleas from Pope Pius and millions abroad, and in its continuing campaign for a review of Sobell's conviction.

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON brought greetings from her husband, Paul, and Cedric Belfrage's recorded report added the footnote that Robeson had brought a capacity house to St. Paul's Cathedral for the first time since V-J Day; and that people all over the world were clamoring for more of Paul Robeson and Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois. On the DuBoises, Belfrage supplied these travel notes.

"Dr. DuBois, who is getting younger even more rapidly than before, has been welcomed in a way his record merits, by scholars and fighters for human dignity in Britain, Holland, France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

"The ovation accorded him at the Asian-African Writers Conference in Tashkent would have brought tears to many eyes if you could have been present [as Belfrage was.—Ed]. Dr. DuBois at 90 is hopping around the world like a grasshopper, with Shirley Graham DuBois in a state of what he calls 'mild liberation hysteria'."

EDITOR JAMES ARONSON and John McManus of the GUARDIAN were alternate masters of ceremonies for the evening; Corliss Lamont spoke briefly and called upon the GUARDIAN to continue the good argument over the cause of progressive political action; and a well-known cafe performer, appearing incognito, performed that function so essential to all GUARDIAN gatherings in an uproarious and most rewarding manner.

The gathering greeted Dr. Shapley as if he had just returned from a trip to Mars. Many had not heard him speak since he urged artists, scientists and others out of their ivory towers and into the fight for peace at the historic Waldorf Cultural Conference in New York in 1949.

QUITE OBVIOUSLY better pleased by what he sees through his telescope than here on earth, Dr. Shapley nevertheless mustered up a wry sort of optimism. He said there was very little chance that outside forces would destroy our earth, and that the sun would probably maintain its present life-giving candle-power for reassuring millions of years. Hence man's only hope of destroying himself was by his own ingenuity, and even this might not be entirely successful. So he suggested that man quit trying, and that if he had to fight someone or something in order to maintain progress, let the fight be against disease, for example, or against cultural barriers.

As we have conducted the current International Geophysical Year (Iggy, he called it), why not plow right on with a World Anti-Disease Year, a World Cultural Year, and so on.

We tried to get his script (he has a program all plotted out) but he said it had been promised for publication in **The American Scholar.** Other scholars please copy.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE REAL CHALLENGE TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

What the Soviet 7-year plan means

Recent events have given greater weight to the criticism by many thoughtful people that U.S. foreign policy is based on a stubborn refusal to face reality. Washington says it must have military alliances, overseas bases, support of feudal rulers, a plethora of nuclear weapons and former foes as armed allies because Moscow is determined to conquer the world by force. But many Americans of stature contradict this theory.

Columnist Walter Lippmann, after a recent visit to the Soviet Union "to understand Soviet foreign policy in relation to the U.S.," wrote he was convinced the main Soviet challenge was over the leadership of Asia and Africa. Moscow hoped to win this challenge "not by going to war but by avoiding a war that would ruin [Soviet] economic achievements" that were setting an example to the Asian-Africans. He said the Soviets believed the U.S. and its allies planned war against them to halt their economic achievements.

Adlai Stevenson also returned from the Soviet Union "convinced . . . that the battle of the future is economic and political and the major battleground is in Asia and Africa." There, he said, the Soviets are exploiting "to the fullest their enormous appeal as a backward and non-colonial country that has 'made good'." He said this was "a more important fact than the development of Soviet military power," and to indulge in "the illusion of our superiority in everything, together with the denial of unpleasant realities, is a bad basis for foreign policy." He said Soviet leaders do not want war "because it would interrupt their great [economic] development program."

How great this program was could be seen in the new Soviet seven-year plan revealed last week. By coincidence, U. S. officials were addressing delegations from the Colombo Plan and Latin American countries at about the same time. Their statements sharply revealed the difference between East and West on their approach to foreign policy.

These differences will be discussed in two articles. The first, which follows, indicates the enormous scope and significance of the new Soviet plan. The second will analyze (1) the Colombo Plan meeting in Seattle; (2) the Inter-American conference in Washington; (3) the Geneva disarmament conferences. The analysis will be made against the background of U.S. and Soviet policies.

By Kumar Goshal

SEVERAL WEFKS AGO Soviet Premier Khrushchev said that Moscow's next seven-year economic plan (1959-1965) would "astonish" the world when it was made public. When the details were announced Nov. 14, thoughtful people gasped at the plan's spectacular scope. But they were convinced that this was the East's real challenge to the West.

The plan was presented as "an integral element" of a program of development through 1972. In the next seven years, Khrushchev said, the Soviet Union "will surpass the U.S. production of industrial key items quantitatively and come close to America's present-day level for other items." In staple foods, the Soviets planned to be ahead of the U.S. on a per capita basis.

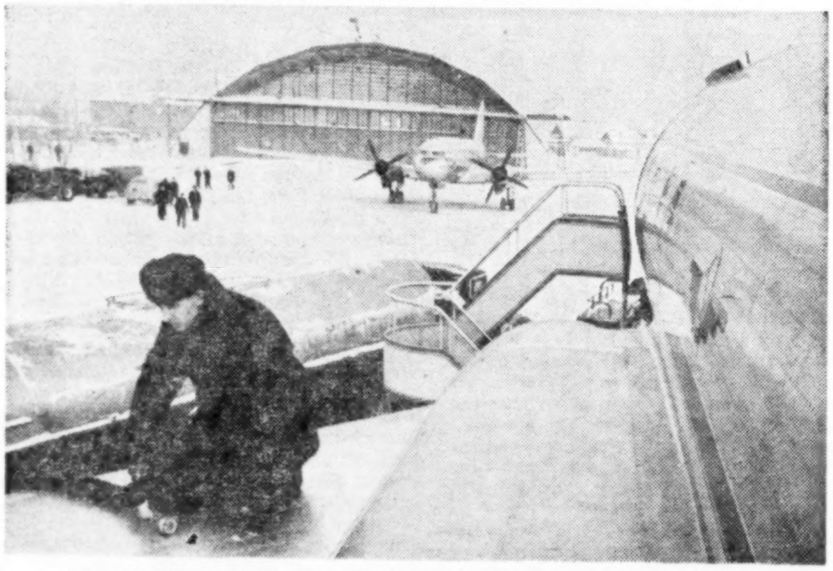
By 1970, he said, the Soviet Union will have established a solid base "for overtaking American per capita production in all fields." From then on, he added, Soviet citizens will enjoy "the world's highest living standards and socialism will have won a world-historic victory in peaceful competition."

A COMPARISON: In concrete terms, by 1965 the plan envisaged a gross industrial output 80% higher than in 1958. Heavy industry would increase 88%, consumer goods by 62-65% and agriculture 70%. National income would go up 65%, real income of factory and office workers and farmers would increase 30-40%. Total investment for the seven-year period would amount to nearly $500,000,000,000, almost equal to the amount the Soviet Union has invested in the 41 years since the revolution, and more than the 1957 gross national product of the U. S.

Following are some figures comparing the Soviet 1965 target with U.S. output in 1957:

STEEL—Soviet goal: 91,000,000 metric tons; U.S. 1957 output: 102,200,000 tons.
COAL—Soviet target: 609,000,000 tons; U.S. output: 468,000,000 tons.
PIG IRON—Soviet goal: 70,000,000 tons; U.S. output: 72,000,000 tons.
ELECTRICITY—Soviet goal: 520,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours; U.S. output: 715,700,000,000 kilowatt-hours.
OIL—Soviet goal: 240,000,000 tons; U.S. output: 353,900,000 tons.

THE BASIC THEMES: Paul Wohl noted in the **Christian Science Monitor** that the Soviets were stressing three basic ideas: (1) An era of industrial chemistry and synthetics, electronically-directed, chemically- and fission-fueled, with far-flung oil and gas pipeline networks, intercontinental power grids, long-distance passenger transportation by jet planes; (2) Manpower economy through labor-saving devices, such as open-cast mining and automation; (3) Accelerated economic development in Soviet Asia, for which 40% of all investments were earmarked.


THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SOVIET JET IS NOT LOST ON ASIA
A mechanic refuels a TW-104 at Irkutsk in Siberia

Khrushchev said increased use of labor-saving devices would gradually reduce the work day to seven hours in factories and offices, and six hours in mines and special branches of industry. The plan included the building of 15,000,000 city apartments and 7,000,000 rural homes to alleviate the housing shortage.

WHY PEACE IS NEEDED: Based on past performance and present-day Soviet technological advance, supported by the vast natural wealth of the Soviet Union and its freedom from recessions or depressions, these objectives seemed likely of achievement. And even the most skeptical agreed that the plan was evidence of Soviet desire for peace, of what Moscow means when it speaks of "peaceful competition."

The **N.Y. Times,** for example, noted that the Soviet Union "will need peace to make good her goals" and said:

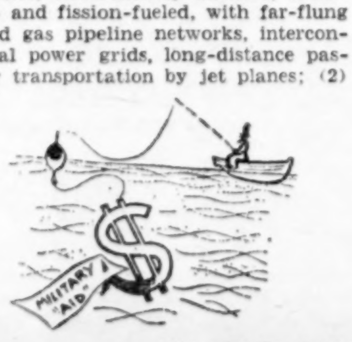
"From the long-range point of view the Soviet economic challenge last week was by far the most serious of all. Even if the goals prove over-ambitious, Soviet economic gains on the West seem certain to continue."

The **Christian Science Monitor** said: "The new seven-year plan . . . is likely to become an important influence not only in the thinking of the Communist-ruled peoples but also in that of the under-developed two-thirds of the world. In this sense it is and probably will remain a historic document."

THE REAL CHALLENGE: This is the real challenge the Soviet Union and the socialist world make to the Western world, as Khrushchev has been tirelessly telling all who would listen. This is what he told columnist Walter Lippmann last month, before the seven-year plan was made public.

According to Lippmann, Khrushchev said the trouble for the West will come not from Soviet nuclear weapons power but from the steady "multiplication of benefits" received by Soviet citizens. Lippmann said:

"We delude ourselves if we do not realize that the main power of the Communist states lies not in their clandestine activity but in the force of their example, in the visible demonstration of what the Soviet Union has achieved in 40 years, of what Red China has achieved in about ten years."



Peking Review, Peking

Wiley: the white man's peril

PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 18 (UPI)—Russia and the United States should settle their differences because the "whole white race" may be endangered should the non-white get intercontinental missiles, Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.) said tonight.

"The whole white race must get together," Wiley, ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told a Princeton University audience.

"If China gets the intercontinental missile, if India gets it, what happens to the white race?" Wiley asked.

—Washington **Post,** Nov. 19

Open letter to new Congress

The following is an open letter to the 86th Congress from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born asking for an amendment to the Walter-McCarran Act which would impose a statute of limitations on deportations. The Committee asks its friends and supporters to sign the letter and send it to their Congressmen.

SINCE DEC. 24, 1952, the Walter-McCarran Law has served as the immigration and naturalization policy of the United States. Many of its provisions have been criticized and its general character has been characterized as undemocratic by scores of religious, community, civic and trade union leaders and organizations, as well as by responsible individuals.

We believe that the lack of a statute of limitations governing deportation and denaturalization proceedings is one of the most unjust features of the entire law.

Prior to admission for permanent residence, the prospective entrant is usually subjected to exhaustive investigation. Prior to denaturalization, the prospective citizen is likewise subjected to careful scrutiny, and his eligibility for citizenship ascertained.

BUT, SINCE THERE is no limit as to the time deportation proceedings can be initiated against non-citizens, they apparently have no absolute right to live in this country, despite legal entry. They can be deported for minor infractions of the law committed 30 or 40 years ago or because they have attempted to exercise the rights granted presumably to all persons in the country by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

Citizenship won through naturalization is not enduring. For with no limit to the time denaturalization proceedings may be initiated, such citizenship appears to be loaned rather than granted.

Therefore, we call upon the members of the 86th Congress to revise the Walter-McCarran Law and include in that revision a statute of limitations which will decree that:

1. No person legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence shall be deportable after five year's residence.
2. No naturalized citizen shall, after five years of citizenship, be denaturalized for any reason whatsoever.

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FIRST-HAND REPORT FROM BUENOS AIRES

How Argentina's New Deal came to an end

Argentina is in an uneasy state of suspended crisis. Since the following dispatch was filed the trade unions have postponed a scheduled 48-hour general strike as a protest against the skyrocketing cost of living, but the oil workers of Mendoza are still out. A state of siege still grips the country. President Arturo Frondizi emerged with lessened prestige from the crisis precipitated by his charges that Vice President Gomez had plotted a palace coup with some military leaders. Gomez forced Frondizi to retract the charge and to declare Gomez "a man of good will." Then Gomez forced the ruling Radical Intransigent Party to call off expulsion proceedings. Only then did he resign. Some thought that "poor Gomez" was the victim of shadowy maneuvering in the Casa Rosada as Frondizi tried to play factions against each other.

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

BUENOS AIRES

THE ARGENTINE NEW DEAL died on Nov. 11 when President Arturo Frondizi ordered a state of national emergency and when hundreds, if not thousands, of Peronistas and Communists were taken into preventive custody all over the country. The days of political prisoners—which the President had sworn were gone forever—are here again and the great experiment in liberty, democracy and national reconstruction, begun last May 1, has been declared a failure a bare six months later.

Hipolito Irigoyen, the last constitutionally-elected president prior to Frondizi, withstood the pressure of the big landowners, the Church and the armed forces for two years, from 1928 to 1930, then fell victim to a putsch. Arturo Frondizi lasted only six months. He is still the nation's president, **de jure** if not **de facto**, but the platform on which he was elected by the vast majority of the Argentine electorate has now been finally and irrevocably abandoned.

The two most important planks of Frondizi's program were the fullest possible exploitation of the nation's natural resources and the collaboration of all sections of the population, regardless of their past political affiliation. Economic policy was entrusted to Rogelio Frigerio who, with his team of economists, formed a kind of economic brain-trust. Frigerio, often attacked by the Right as a Leftist, was, in fact, a New Dealer.

OIL BASE: The oil contracts—for services and equipment rather than outright concessions to foreign capital—were primarily Frigerio's work. These contracts, which set the basic pattern of economic policy, caused the downfall of Frondizi's New Deal.

The policy of full industrialization and massive economic reconstruction with the full participation of foreign capital was attacked from the Right and Left. On the right, the so-called **gorilas**, the land-owners who find their main support among the armed forces and the Roman Catholic Church, are traditionally opposed to the industrialization of the country which would severely undermine their own social and economic status, based on the export of agricultural raw materials. The Left—Peronists, Communists, Socialists and independents—is opposed to the contracts with foreign capital groups and to the concessions already made to other foreign investors.

CAPITAL SIT-DOWN: In theory, the opposition on the part of the Left and the Peronistas to foreign exploitation of the country was well taken, but Argentine capital has never attempted to take the place of foreign investors. On the contrary, the sit-down strike of Argentine capital continues and at the same time there has been a massive capital flight, which finds its expression in the continuously decreasing value of the peso. The national currency, which four months ago stood at 40 to the dollar, today stands at over 77. The result is galloping inflation, which in turn brings ever-increasing demands for wage rises.

On Sept. 16—the third anniversary of the army's coup which overthrew Peron—General Pedro Aramburu, president of the former Provisional regime, acting as spokesman of the united Right, demanded that the President stop "coddling" Peronistas and "Reds" by making concessions to the trade union movement. Frondizi responded by declaring the postal workers' strike illegal and is alleged to have explained that further and more drastic changes, such as the dismissal of some of his chief brain-trusters, demanded tact and time.

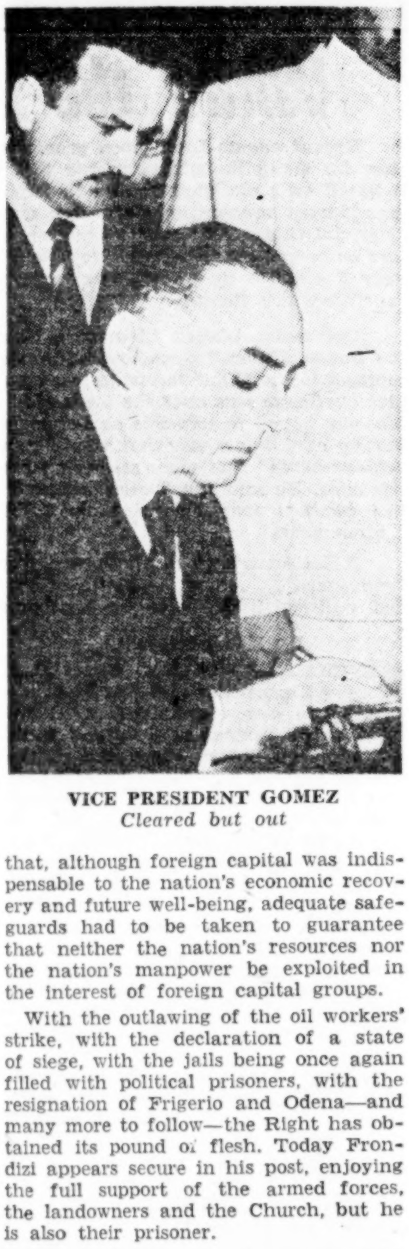
Pressure from the Right continued, but the President hesitated to drop some of his closest political friends and advisers, until the workers of the national oil company struck.

THE RIGHT WINS: The Left and Peronist union leadership lay itself wide open to the charge of using the strike as an exclusively political weapon. The Right demanded decisive action, claiming that Frondizi's policy of so-called national conciliation had failed miserably. No foreign investor, said those opposed to any type of investment for purposes of industrialization, will invest in a country where the labor forces sabotage government policy. As if in answer to the Rightists' prayer, the signing of the contract with the "Atlas Group," representing various U.S. capital interests with an investment potential of $900,000,000, was postponed at the end of last week.

Frigerio's resignation had been preceded by a few days by that of Isidro Odena, until then tsar of broadcasting, TV and all other media of mass communication. Both men are leading members of that group of slightly left-of-center New Dealers who had not only helped the President into the **Casa Rosada** but had symbolized the policy of industrialization plus national reconciliation.

This group of reformers was convinced that, although foreign capital was indispensable to the nation's economic recovery and future well-being, adequate safeguards had to be taken to guarantee that neither the nation's resources nor the nation's manpower be exploited in the interest of foreign capital groups.

With the outlawing of the oil workers' strike, with the declaration of a state of siege, with the jails being once again filled with political prisoners, with the resignation of Frigerio and Odena—and many more to follow—the Right has obtained its pound of flesh. Today Frondizi appears secure in his post, enjoying the full support of the armed forces, the landowners and the Church, but he is also their prisoner.



VICE PRESIDENT GOMEZ
Cleared but out

Berlin story

(Continued from Page 1)

confidential. The Soviet Embassy stated cryptically that Smirnov had told Adenauer what steps Moscow planned to take "to realize its aim of ending the occupation status of Berlin."

While Moscow took its time, Western observers in the Soviet capital put all past Soviet statements on Germany together and tried to guess what Khrushchev's "proposals" might be. They were aware of Soviet and East European concern over the steady rearming of West Germany, of the Soviet desire to be free to devote all its energies to the fulfillment of its seven-year plan. (See p. 3).

They surmised that Khrushchev would offer Poland guarantees of the Oder-Neisse line, call for a peace conference where East and West Germany would discuss unification and the Big Four would consider a peace treaty with a united Germany in the framework of a modified Polish plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. They found in Smirnov's visit to Adenauer before the disclosure of Khrushchev's proposals to the Western powers a Soviet effort to place the East and West German regimes on an equal footing.

GENUINE CONCERN: Speculations aside, it was obvious that both the Soviet Union and East Germany were worried that German division was becoming too solidified. East German concern over saboteurs and spies operating in West Berlin was not exaggerated. West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt, in fact, admitted during a CBS interview on Nov. 18 that "there have been activities in Free Berlin and West Germany which I think were not very wise and not very efficient." The desire for easing the tension caused by a divided Germany was undoubtedly genuine.

RUSSIANS BEGAN WITHDRAWAL NINE MONTHS AGO
Kids played as Soviet tanks left East Germany last March

The reason for Soviet insistence on direct East and West German negotiations for unity was also obvious. The West has called for German reunification on the basis of "free elections" held under four-power supervision. This sounds democratic, but in fact puts East Germany at the mercy of West Germany, since West Germany has a population of over 53,000,000 to East Germany's 18,000,000. In a "free election," this population disparity would tend to wipe out the socialist gains of GDR. Only a confederation of East and West, even if temporary, can deal justly with the problem.

NOT IMPOSSIBLE: The two Germanys have not been at loggerheads all the time, nor has the idea of confederation always been considered impractical. On Nov. 21, for example, East and West added an appendix to the 1959 trade pact, guaranteeing unhampered civilian traffic between Bonn and Berlin. Three weeks ago GDR Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht disclosed that in 1955 and 1956 Bonn's Finance Minister Fritz Schaeffer (once thrown out of the Bavarian government as unacceptable to the West at Gen. Eisenhower's directive) had consulted with GDR and Soviet representatives regarding a confederation of East and West Germany. There were signs of support for confederation among U.S. allies. The influential London **Economist** said objections to confederation "are not as solid as they have been made to look."

Foreign Born banquet to hear Struik and Ward Dec. 6 in N.Y.

PROF. DIRK J. STRUIK and Dr. Harry F. Ward will be among the guests of honor at the 26th Annual National Conference Banquet of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Saturday, Dec. 6, 6:30 p.m.

All Conference sessions and banquet will be held at Hotel Belmont Plaza, Lexington Av. at 49 St., N.Y.C.

Also sharing the platform as banquet guests will be Attorney Joseph Forer, Harvey O'Connor and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith.

Purpose of the Conference is to discuss the work and program of the ACPFB for 1959, and guests at the banquet will hear a review of deliberations which will have begun in the morning.

Banquet reservations at $6 a person may be secured by writing the ACPFB at 49 E. 21 St., Room 405, or by calling ORegon 4-5058.

N.Y. STATE COMMITTEE REPORTS

The Puerto Rican is lowest on totem pole

A GLIMPSE of the Puerto Rican at work in New York was given last month in three reports by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. It was a bare glimpse focusing on only two industries—hotels and skirt manufacturing—and summing up the discrimination picture based on the handful of cases that are brought to SCAD's attention.

It showed the Puerto Ricans still at the bottom of the economic ladder in the city, bussing tables and sweeping floors for the most part, yet battering down the doors of discrimination to make substantial advances in some skilled jobs.

SCAD's investigators examined 33 major hotels, one in Brooklyn, the rest below 62nd St. in Manhattan. Together they employ 20,000 people, of whom 21% are Puerto Ricans. Of these 55% work in the kitchen; 2% in the offices as white-collar workers or administrators.

THE MEN: Three-quarters of the kitchen help in the hotels examined are Puerto Ricans. They are the dish washers, pot washers, incinerator men, vegetable men, pastrymen, storeroom workers. Some are cooks or assistant cooks and 66 are department heads or supervising chefs.

In the dining room 2/3 of the busboys but only 5% of the dining room managers, captains and checkers are Puerto Ricans. Close to 19% of the waiters and waitresses are Puerto Rican but there is not a single Puerto Rican among the hotels' 40 hostesses.

SCAD found most of the Puerto Ricans working out of sight of the customers. That trend showed even in the elevators where 37% of the freight cars but only 15% of the passenger cars had Puerto Rican operators. There were comparatively few Puerto Rican doormen, bellmen, baggage porters or room clerks.

THE WOMEN: While Puerto Rican men in New York have gone in great numbers into the hotel and restaurant trades, their wives and daughters have flocked into the garment industry. Local 23 of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, the skirtmakers' local, now has a membership that is 50% Latin, and almost all of the Latins are women. SCAD's special report on the skirt shops indicates far fewer discriminatory hurdles for Puerto Ricans there than in the hotels.

Many of the skirt makers work on piece rates. Their weekly earnings therefore depend on their production rather than a boss' arbitrary figure which in other fields might be weighted by his prejudice. Puerto Rican women were found among the top earners as well as among the lowest paid. The report nevertheless said that most Puerto Ricans work in the "low end" shops which have the lowest pay-scale and make skirts for the low-priced trade. SCAD said this seemed to reflect only that Puerto Ricahs were newcomers to the industry and that there were language barriers. It forecast steady progress into the better-paying shops.

THE SHOPS: The report said that entry into the trade was eased somewhat for the Puerto Ricans by the numbers of Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews among the employers and veteran workers whose fathers went into the trade when they arrived as immigrants. The picture was not all rosy. Some employers told SCAD frankly that they were hiring Puerto Ricans only because there was a labor shortage and business was good. If business fell off, these employers said, they would prefer not to hire them. Other bosses reported such smooth working relationships that Puerto Ricans were preferred above other groups.

Puerto Ricans found some hostility on the part of bosses and workers but seemed undeterred by it. SCAD credited the ILGWU local with a constructive integration policy, stemming in part from the socialist traditions of the early ILGWU. "Although there is little formal socialism left," the report said, "the concept of the equality and brotherhood of all workers remains an influence."

THE UNION: SCAD said that the policy was motivated in part by the union's self-interest: "Once Latin American workers were brought into the union's ranks their loyalty to the union had to be developed in order to keep peace in the ranks and maintain the strength of the union. The union also wanted to make sure that they did not fall prey to any extremist political groupings."

Top leadership of the local is still predominantly non-Latin but there are five Latin Americans on the executive board and more than 100 Latin American shop chairmen. The report cautions: "Any idea that Local 23 has turned 4,000 Latin American workers into active union firebrands, however, would be false." As a partial explanation, the report says: "At the time when the Jews in the industry came to America around the turn of the century the union was a 'movement' whereas today it is an 'institution.' "

THE ANSWER: SCAD's limitations seemed evident in its summary of complaints received. Under the present law it is hamstrung by the provision that it can investigate only on the specific complaint of an individual charging discrimination. In the 13 years of its existence SCAD has received 5,225 complaints of which 546 involved discrimination because of national origin. Of these 55% were filed by Puerto Ricans.

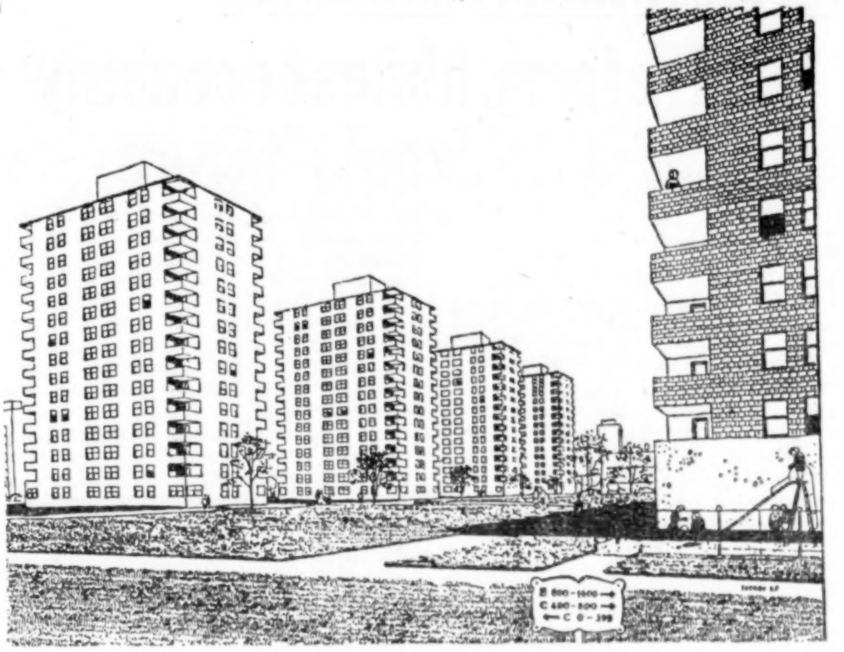
On-the-job discrimination ranked highest in the list of complaints. Most cases were "closed" when the employer promised to control his prejudices. The complaints are too few to make the statistical breakdown meaningful, but every New Yorker knows that they show a minute corner of the total picture of discrimination in New York.

Under the earnest and enterprising leadership of Charles Abrams, SCAD could knock down many of the hurdles in the way of Puerto Ricans and others—if Albany took off the statutory shackles with which it has hobbled the agency.

They're the worst kind . . .

RAN INTO OLD "Wind River Bill Taggert" the other day, and he was hopping mad. He is an old-timer, about 75 now, who used to be a riggin' slinger up Columbia River way in the big logging camps. He turned into a sort of extrovert on account of hollering at the whistle punk and the riggin' crew so much. Seems he is holed up in a cabin out west of here, and drawing a pension. Anyway, he collared me on the street and said, "Hi, young 'un, old Barney Tuke has been givin' me your paper and whilst it's pretty fair at times, it never says anything about voting agin' them damned incumbents! I went and got registered just so's I could vote agin' every damned incumbent they was, as they are worse than them democrats or republicans that you are always roarin' about!"

—Lumberjack News, Nov. 15



WHICH WAY TO THE MESS HALL?

This representation of a luxury-apartment village, euphemistically called "middle-income housing," is part of a survey of urban planning by the editors of Fortune *titled,* The Exploding Metropolis *(Doubleday & Co., 575 Madison Av., N.Y. 22, $3.95). The caption reads: "Is this to be our paradise?" The authors suggest that the "village . . . would make an excellent barracks." But what GI could afford the rent?*

THE COMING MEGALOPOLIS

Suburbia eats up farms, food prices may go up

By Barrow Lyons

Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

ALTHOUGH THERE ARE many influences which could reduce the cost of food in the future, there is taking place an important alteration of the face of America which tends to make agricultural products cost more.

It is the glacial growth of megalopolis—the sprawling modern city and its suburbs that is swallowing up much of our best cropland. Not only is this pushing crop production onto poorer land, where it costs more to get the same output from an acre, but it is driving the farmer further from his markets, thus multiplying transportation costs. Higher freight and trucking charges probably will be the first serious effect.

What is more, mounting tax rates in the suburbanized areas build up pressures to boost on-the-farm prices.

Today the average industrial worker's family spends about one-fourth of its income for food. In some countries food costs have mounted to as much as 70% of the average income. What happens to the living standard is obvious.

PARTIAL SOLUTION: The few who have given much thought to this problem—which concerns the city dweller even more than the farmer—say there is a partial solution: (1) better planning for the areas into which cities are destined to expand by zoning the most productive farm lands for continued agricultural use; (2) continuing to tax them only at rural values.

Studies made by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service show that good farming land is being devoured by the growth of cities at the rate of more than 1,000,000 acres a year—and this is accelerating as population increases. Almost all the population growth since World War II has been in areas formerly rural, but today converted into suburbs, highways, factory sites, airplane fields, shopping centers, military establishments, and other "improvements" of modern technology.

A study by the SCS a few years ago revealed that between 1942 and 1956 about 17,000,000 acres of good crop land was diverted from cultivation—mainly for suburban development and highways. This conversion is equivalent to 5% of our total cropland acreage of about 400,000,000 acres, or about 225,000 average farms and ranches. Today's express highways require 50 to 60 acres of land per mile, and ordinary first-class highways about 25 acres.

THE VALUES GO UP: A recent survey made for the SCS by A. B. Beaumont, formerly its State Conservationist in Massachusetts, found that many farmers whose land was valued at a few hundred dollars when the neighborhood remained rural, were able to sell at several thousand dollars an acre when real estate developers or industrial corporations wanted their farms. He cited a case in Bergen County, N.J., where a vegetable farm of 22 acres was sold for $12,000 an acre, and another in the Los Angeles River Valley, Calif., where an alfalfa and bean farm of 132 acres went for $20,000 an acre.

But he also cited a case in which the total taxes on a farm of 152 acres near Los Angeles increased from $4,000 in 1952 to $20,000 in 1956, making it next to impossible to carry on farm operations. In most recently-urbanized areas the building and maintenance of schools account for 40 to 50% of the real estate taxes. In many localities the tax rate has doubled or tripled in the last ten years.

NEED FOR EVERY ACRE: Most people in these days of food surpluses do not realize that such abundance will not last indefinitely. Hundreds of thousands of acres of good farming land are being lost annually through wind and rain erosion. Soil conservation has not yet caught up with losses, although progress is being made. Much land that is under the plow today is being returned to forest, because the soil is so poor it should never have been farmed. There is still some land that can be reclaimed through drainage and irrigation.

But the day is not too distant when bursting populations will require all of the good land, cultivated even more intensively than today. Only a few far-sighted counties adjoining our cities are meeting this situation by zoning the best farm land for food and fiber production, and holding down taxes to enable their farms to prosper. But the idea is catching on.

THE WAR ON FEUDALISM AND CORRUPTION

Land reform, honest economy are keys to Iraq's future

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD

IRAQ'S REVOLUTIONARY government inherited a feudal land tenure system and a messy economic situation. Both of these were the results of earlier British rule; on both fronts the regime has made considerable advance.

The land tenure system recalls the Arab proverb: "Caps with no heads and heads with no caps"; it produced land with no men to cultivate it and men with no land to cultivate. Some 25 years ago, all land was state property, communally cultivated. This absence of private property in land is an historical phenomenon of the Orient, which has been explained as due to climate and soil conditions making agriculture dependent on artificial irrigation . . . "a matter either for the commune, the provinces or the central government."

NOMADS SETTLE: By the end of the 19th century, nomadic tribes had settled on the land, cultivating it collectively. The sheik was simply a prominent peasant, a mediator between the tribe and the government. Britain, after conquering Iraq, eliminated the small sheiks, increased the power of other sheiks by making communal land their private property. It used some of the land to bribe the rising middle class, making them landlords and diverting their attention from developing industry.

These newly created land-owners turned the tribesmen into poor land workers or sharecroppers, who used primitive methods to cultivate the land with meager yield per acre. On the eve of the revolution, less than 1% of the agricultural population owned 85% of all cultivated land, while 85% of the population owned no land at all.

The revolutionary leaders, therefore, stressed land reform as the necessary precondition to any economic, social or political advance. Reform should not have been difficult because there were few big landowners, cultivable land per capita was perhaps the highest in the world, and landlords had no real claim to compensation, for they got the land from the British for nothing.

THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY
Methods are primitive, hopes high

HIGH CEILING: The Sept. 30 land reform decree was unnecessarily timid. It placed the very high ceiling on individual land ownership of 1,000 donums (a donum equals .6 of an acre) of irrigated land and 2,000 of rain-fed land. This meant that the reform would affect only the handful of giant landlords and there wouldn't be enough land to divide among the peasants.

It also failed to differentiate between cereal and orchard lands. The great date plantations—many owned by the Emir of Kuwait and Persians from Kuwait—with their vastly greater cash return were not affected by the reform. Compensation to the giant landlords was to be paid in 20 years with 3% interest, in sharp contrast to the 30-40 year period and 1% interest provided in the UAR land decree.

Although the decree provided agricultural cooperatives to aid the small peasants, it was clearly a compromise between those who wanted the old order to remain intact and those who advocated confiscation of giant estates and leasing them to cooperatives.

Everything now depends on how the Higher Committee applies the law and whether it takes advantage of the authority it is given to reconsider and change the maximums and to postpone payments.

TROOPS HALT REFORM: The Revolutionary government postponed any drastic reform of the soaring inflation and the corrupt, inefficient administrative machinery it had inherited, so long as Anglo-American troops remained in Jordan and Lebanon. It did take some more or less effective immediate steps to ease the lot of the people. Price cuts and price control on major food items were largely ineffective. But real gains were made in the 50-50 crop division for the sharecropper, the halt to evictions in the countryside, enforcement of the 8-hour day and the minimum wage, lowering of rents and transportation costs.

The major economic problem was presented by the $280,000,000 yearly Development program, which was a pork-barrel for vested interests under the old regime. The Council of Ministers promptly stopped payment on contracts. This drop in public spending necessarily affected public industry and commerce and increased unemployment.

SOME STEPS FORWARD: By the beginning of October, the Ministers restored some spending, streamlined the projects to some extent, tried to prevent wholesale firings by private industry, improved the economic situation to some degree. They transferred control of the Development program from foreigners to a Ministerial Board, started replacing foreign experts with Iraqis, other Arabs, or experts from small neutral countries.

They agree on planned industrialization and "diversification in our national economy," as Economy Minister Dr. Ibrahim Kubba told the GUARDIAN; an important state role in the economy; diversification of trade by barter agreements with socialist countries and of assets so that all are not held as at present in London. But these do not spell agreement on a policy of economic development.

On the key question of economic planning—with oil revenue available for development—the government is divided. Traders, owners of large estates and their spokesmen in government oppose planning. Proponents—who saw in the probable early conclusion of a Soviet-Iraq aid agreement all the more reason for an overall plan based on a real survey of the country's resources—have, however, obtained acceptance at least in principle of a planning organization within each government department and one at the ministerial level.

MEASURES PROPOSED: Recommendations made as a result of studies made in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the UAR and approved by a ministerial subcommittee involve:

- A high-powered economic commission to survey the country's resources.
- Instructions by the Council of Ministers on the shape of the economy it wants and its goals.
- A five-year plan on the basis of these instructions.

So far, the proposals have not been implemented. Meanwhile, people are thinking, a mass of memoranda are being written, and even the most impatient believe something positive will emerge. A limiting factor has been the inability of popular forces to influence decisions. But some democratic freedoms have been restored: in Baghdad alone, seven new papers have been given permission to publish.

The people are considerably to the left of the government and, once they have their own organizations and organs through which to express themselves, will certainly influence the shaping of policy.

McCRACKIN JAILED

Court decides minister knows what he's doing

REV. MAURICE F. McCRACKIN
Against war's insanity

ON NOV. 19 Judge John H. Druffel of the U.S. District Court in Cincinnati released pacifist minister Maurice F. McCrackin from the Hamilton County Jail where he had sent him five days before to await a mental examination. Three psychiatrists had disproved the judge's suspicion that anyone who went to the lengths employed by Rev. McCrackin to demonstrate opposition to war must be crazy.

Five days later, when Rev. McCrackin refused to answer a summons for the fourth time, the same judge sent the minister back to jail for an indeterminate sentence, this time for contempt of court.

Rev. McCrackin has refused to pay taxes for the past ten years because part of his money would be used for war preparations. On Sept. 12 he refused to respond to a summons from the Internal Revenue Service. Federal agents carried him bodily to the courthouse. The case was handed over to a Federal grand jury which handed down an indictment on Nov. 7.

A preliminary hearing was set for a week later in Judge Druffel's court. Shortly after noon that Friday Rev. McCrackin was talking to several women parishioners and his assistants in front of the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas church. They had just concluded a prayer service. When a group of Federal men drove up with a warrant for his arrest returnable at 2:30 that afternoon he said: "I can't cooperate with you. I think what you are doing is wrong. I have nothing against you men personally, but I can't cooperate."

SOCIAL SANITY: They put Rev. McCrackin in a wheel chair, rolled the chair into a waiting car, and carried the minister off to court. There he said he would like to make a plea, but refused to rise from the chair. Asst. U.S. District Atty. Thomas H. Stueve asked the judge to order the mental examination. "He does not seem to have the mental capacity to understand the procedure against him or the competency to defend himself," he said.

The judge assigned Theodore M. Berry, former city councilman, and Fred Dewey, professor at the U. of Cincinnati Law School, to defend McCrackin. Watching as Rev. McCrackin was carried to jail were Negro and white members of his integrated parish and parents whose family life has benefitted by his administration of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House. For them there was no question but that Rev. McCrackin's tireless work in the church and its affiliated Findlay St. Neighborhood House represented the highest type of social sanity.

HE WON'T COME: The psychiatrists agreed that Rev. McCrackin was mentally competent. Upon his release, Judge Druffel directed the minister to appear in court on Nov. 24 to answer the grand jury charge. Rev McCrackin oromptly announced he would not be present. When he did not appear, Judge Druffel announced the contempt conviction and fixed the indefinite jail sentence.

Boston seminar on China Dec. 6

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS Service Committee will sponsor a one-day seminar on China, titled "The U.S., the UN and China," on Sat., Dec. 6, at the Charles St. Meeting House in Boston. Participants are:

Edgar Snow, former foreign editor of the **Saturday Evening Post** and author of the just-published **Journey to the Beginning** and of **Red Star Over China**; John K. Fairbank, Professor of History and Associate Director of the Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard U., and author of **The United States and China**; Gerald Bailey, member of the Quaker Team at the UN; the Hon. H. Dayal, Charge d'Affairs of the Indian Embassy in Washington; John Carter Vincent, who spent 30 years with the American Foreign Service, mostly in China; Gregory Smith, Boston businessman; Allan B. Cole, Professor of East Asian Affairs, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts U., will be chairman.

Panel participants will discuss "How China Was 'Lost'," "Communist China in Motion—Portent for Asia?," "America's Stake in China." Their findings will be summed up at an evening panel on "The Imperatives for Solution: the U.S., the UN and China." Advance registration, at $2.50 for the entire program, may be made with the Peace Section of the AFSC, P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38.

YOU'LL FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE, BUT . . .

How the people's communes work in China

To Americans, and especially American farmers, who have grown up largely in the tradition of individual enterprise, the concept of the Chinese commune must indeed be hard to encompass. In the following article Anna Louise Strong begins an attempt to explain the commune, its philosophy and its practical aspects. We would suggest that the reader, inevitably asking himself how he would fit into such a scheme, rather seek to understand the concept against the background of Chinese history and experience.

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING

THE foreign press reports that Americans are "confused" about the people's communes, and describe it as "regimentation." An explanation is in order, but is difficult when everything changes daily. Everyone in Peking asks: "What will those peasants do next?"

I visited two communes and didn't think to ask the members if they felt "regimented." Words mean such different things to different peoples. If the Communist Party announces that the aim of the commune is "to organize like an army, work like a battle, live collectively," that sounds like fairly thorough militarization. But the first time the Chinese peasant glimpsed democracy was in the Liberation Army, and his first taste of personal initiative was when he did guerrilla fighting in its ranks.

This experience is only ten years in the past and the old Liberation Army men are now home on the farms, leading the forward drive. So when they talk of being "militarized" they mean: "Do it all together, on a unified plan and put it over with one big successful bang." This has overtones not of suppression but of hard-won rollicking victory.

IN THE FIRST COMMUNE, in the cotton area of Honan, they were working like demons to get in an unprecedented crop, and proud of a fantastic "experimental plot" where cotton grew six feet high and produced at the rate of 39,600 pounds of boll cotton per acre, some 74 times the pre-Liberation average of 534 pounds per acre. Nobody in the U.S. will believe these figures, but I put them on record and add that the plot was only a quarter-acre in size and was given an amount of toil that nobody but a frenzied scientist or a Chinese peasant would give, by plowing five feet deep and putting endless tons of compost and fertilizer hand-fed in liquid form almost daily into the roots.

One thing must be said. All policy of all kinds in China is based on what they call "the mass line," which I roughly translate as "from the people through the leaders to the people again." It will take the rest of my life to explain this. As one of my friends here said: "If I could define 'mass line' for you, I would apply for the job of second assistant to Mao." It means different things in different concrete situations.

In the case of the people's communes it means that the communes began last spring on peasant initiative. The government leaders watch these things like hawks and so everybody from Mao Tse-tung down went visiting farms and came up with an analysis which summarized and gave a name to what the peasants were doing. When this analysis hit the countryside, the rural population recognized it as what they were waiting for and began forming people's communes like mad.

WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE HAPPENED, as nearly as I can put it, is that the farming cooperatives were doing pretty well, and had got the peasants used to working together and sharing the profits. But with last winter's big drive to take control of water resources, and abolish both flood and drought forever, the cooperatives were found to be not large enough.

In the epic fight for water control in Honan province, ten million people turned out last winter and dug themselves 39,000 small reservoirs, more than 118,000 irrigation canals, 390,000 wells, more than a million small ponds and 160 million water-basins on the hillsides like "fish-scales," each only big enough to hold moisture for one tree, and terraced nearly a million acres. Nobody will believe this either but that is what they said.

They said: "The Honan proverb used to be: 'Ten years, nine calamities,' because we always suffered from flood followed by drought. But now we have water storage for 78 billion cubic feet of water, and this will forever ensure our harvests. All that is left to do is to 'modernize it' with electric pumps."

THE CHANGAN 'JULY FIRST' FARMING CO-OP MARCHES TO JOIN A COMMUNE
There is a spirit of elation in a people who insist on moving forward

[The storage figure is equivalent to 1,790,600,000 acre-feet of water. For purposes of comparison, Lake Mead, largest artificial lake in volume in the world formed by water backed up by Hoover Dam on the Colorado River, has storage capacity of 29,827,000 acre-feet.]

In the process of doing all this, the small farm cooperatives were clearly out of date. They began to combine and at the same time to include the local handicraft cooperatives, credit cooperatives, and local industry generally.

That is what the people's commune is, a local organization on the scale of a whole township, or larger—a few include an entire county but the Party leadership warns that this is probably too large for the members to handle yet. In most cases, the county, which is the ancient unit of government in China, has now become a collection of people's communes, anywhere from a dozen to several dozen, and these communes absorb not only all the farming in their area, but also all the industry, the schools, the commerce, and the local police and defense.

The production organization thus becomes also the local government for everything below the county level. This is regarded as a first step in the "withering away of the state."

BECAUSE OF THE BUMPER crop last year a large proportion of the communes have announced "free bread" and many of them have gone on to list from seven to 14 items of "free supply."

One commune two hours out from Shanghai listed: Free meals, fully cooked and supplied around the clock in public canteens and out in the fields; free clothing, to the limit of the ration of cotton goods, all tailored to demand in the tailors' co-op; free maternity care plus nurseries and 40 days leave from work for the mother; free education from kindergarten up through primary and middle schools and agricultural college right on the area, and scholarships to universities for those who qualify; free weddings, including photographs to exchange and a wedding feast for up to 20 guests; free toilet articles including cosmetics for "females between 16 and 45 years of age"; free funerals up to 50 yuan cost; free laundry and mending, the clothes being turned in at the public canteens in the morning and collected at night; free medical services, with 52 medical workers in the area and a 32-bed hospital; free cinema and theater, with troupes invited from the cities; free haircuts and baths (baths still being public village baths); free housing (most peasants owned their own houses anyway but a new model settlement was to be built with houses all free); and lastly "free Happy Courtyards" for the aged.

These lists are decided by vote of the commune and just now, the peasants are a bit intoxicated by the bumper harvest and by the sudden knowledge that after centuries in which they were never fully fed, there is now so much food that nobody can eat it all.

THIS PARTICULAR COMMUNE is in an area where, before Liberation, four-fifths of the people suffered from schistosomiasis, a wasting liver disease carried by small snails infecting the rice fields. They have beaten this disease basically by medication and cleaning up the fields, but for sound health they feel the area needs complete resettlement on higher ground.

So an enormous map of their future commune hangs on the wall of the commune office, and a 12x15-foot table model stands alongside, showing how the future industrial and commercial center will be on the river on high ground, with three residential areas in different directions. The commune's slogan is:

"Overtake Shanghai in conveniences
And the West Lake of Hangchow in beauty."

They all say they will build this in less than three years, beginning by "electrifying the area and modernizing the irrigation" which will be done this winter. Some $500,000 has been set aside for this from the general fund of $3,000,000, (U.S. figures) which the commune got when the previous cooperatives combined. They will build the new town without outside aid, from their own resources and labor, except that they will buy some structural steel in Shanghai for three-story buildings. No old buildings will be repaired any more, but "just taken down for fertilizer," a use to which mud houses with straw roofs are fit.

Besides their common fund they have an individual annual income this year of some $50 per capita. "We could have a lot more," they say, "but $50 is enough and we voted the rest for the new town." To Americans $50 per capita may seem very small but it is three times what this area averaged before Liberation, and they have all their "free services" besides. The $50 will not be equally divided but given as wages according to work.

This commune and others may perhaps be a bit "dizzy with success." The party leadership generally advises that no more than half the total income should be used for "free supply" which is given "to each according to his needs," and that at least half shall go as wages, based upon quantity and quality of work.

But commune members vote their own income. In general, Chinese peasants are practical folk. If some of them vote too soon for "free supply and communism," this will not be because of dictation, but because, after 4,000 years of submisssive, ill-fed labor, they possess a harvest which gives them freedom and power to dream.

Fish story — Chinese style

PEKING

A STORY CIRCULATES among foreigners here about a delegation from an East European nation that recently visited the people's communes. One member was in despair. He was a statistician by profession. "What use is my profession," he exclaimed, "when all the figures change twice daily and the small children in the commune all know them better than I."

After a group of small boys had several times shown their accuracy, he was "finally willing to accept their count on cows, and even on sheep and lambs." When they told him the number of fish in a creek, he threw down his notebook. "That is something nobody can count," he said.

The boys took him to the creek and showed how the commune had built a large fish-pen, enclosed by reeds and grasses, so that the fish swam easily but could not escape. The number put in the pen had been calculated, and also the rate of reproduction on the food the commune supplied.

"The number of fish in the creek were really known," the statistician said. The Chinese were "beyond him," he said. "I'd better go home to keep my job. Here I am outclassed."—A.L.S.

A WALK DOWN THE MIDWAY OF THE WORLD

Short-wave radio is often like Coney Island

AN EVENING at a short-wave radio is like a walk down the midway of the world. Barkers and pitchmen outshout each other. A hundred forms of music blare. Each country puts up a characteristic spiel in its broadcasts beamed to the Americas. The short-wave bands provide a market-place of ideas but it more often resembles Coney Island than a forum.

Radio Madrid, for example, comes on with brassy paso dobles, the music of the bull-fight. An announcer, speaking a cultivated Oxonian English, reports a miracle as if he were selling soap. He says Spain has achieved a classless society: "There simply are no more classes—only a nation." There are more paso dobles and then the laughing man returns with a bit on the new Fashion Goya. The new line from Madrid is patterned after the models in Goya's paintings. "And Goya, as you know, painted only one nude." A fast paso doble cuts in.

Turn the dial and a Swiss announcer details the weather and ski conditions south of the Alps. Geneva is often professorial. It summed up the Lebanese crisis with imprecise neutrality: "The Americans went in with laudable motives to settle a very disturbed area. They failed."

THE STATIC MOANS and warbles and a local radio ham cuts in: "I read ya loud and clear, Joe . . ." A flick of the dial beyond Geneva is Radio Moscow—or at least one of Radio Moscow's outlets. Moscow pops up on several wave-lengths at the same time with the same program. A team of commentators is on the air every night: a woman with clear clipped British staccato and a man who quite possibly learned to talk American in Iowa.

They take turns reading paragraphs of the news. The news itself is heavy with diplomatic or economic notes. There are no sprightly tag-lines. They use epithets like "imperialist" or "reactionary" in as matter-of-fact a tone as a U.S. newscaster uses "Red," "Kremlin-bossed," "satellite" or "slave-state." Soviet news flashes are for the most part statistical. An over-fulfilled norm gets the play reserved in the West for the most lugubrious murder. The commentators betray no excitement. Every item is delivered precisely, with quiet dignity and absolute finality. No personalities clutter the news, no quips, no color, few quotes. Lectures on geological findings in Tadjikistan are sometimes tossed in for spice.

MOST OF THE BROADCASTS beamed to America are in English, but the Netherlands occasionally broadcasts in Spanish. Ciudad Trujillo broadcasts in Spanish the news of a world all its own. One five-minute news roundup recently included an art item—a new statue of Hector Trujillo; a legislative item—the Chamber of Deputies met to vote funds for a new statue of Rafael Trujillo; a press round-up—editorial opinion lauds Trujillo as benefactor; international coverage—the Dominican Republic is now the center of the world fight against communism, under Trujillo.

Radio Peking shares Moscow's intense preoccupation with norms but its man-woman team of commentators also delivers a comprehensive coverage of greetings to distinguished conferences, often with full texts. The news coverage has a delicate Chinese flair, however. They list the topics up for discussion in China such as: "Why the East Wind prevails over the West Wind." They debunk Dulles' promises of aid to Asia and Africa as "sugar-coated cannon-balls." Lovely children's choruses sing new songs—often a Chinese strain peeping through the vigorous Western overtones. A sample title: "Gloy to the Communist Party."

The feature may be a meaty analysis of Japanese politics or something on a domestic theme. Last week the GUARDIAN's Anna Louise Strong gave a first-hand report on the communes.

THE MUSIC UP AND DOWN the short-wave boardwalk varies from country to country. Socialist countries tend to be long-hair. London is addicted to popular music—popular, that is, some thirty years ago. Lisbon tends to be dreamy and full of tangos. Brazzaville, whose news covers Africa admirably, is given to Parisian cabaret music. Havana seems to be all tango and no news of Castro.

The pleasant thing about short-wave listening is that there are no commercials unless the listener chooses thus to label the propaganda of the world's governments.

—Elmer Bendiner

Stavis play about Joe Hill

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven . . ."

THAT, ODDLY ENOUGH, is the tone of fresh wonder and widening horizons which Barrie Stavis' play, **The Man Who Never Died**, manages to capture despite its faithful account of Joe Hill's personal tragedy.

The thrill of finding an idea great enough to move the world, the naive underestimation of the dangers and difficulties involved in its use, the unabashed warmth and comradeship of those singing workers who fought evil without yet fully comprehending it—all these are vividly recreated on the small stage of the Jan Hus Theater, 351 E. 74th St., N.Y.C.

The play is, naturally, focused on the story of Joe Hill himself, and succeeds remarkably well in showing him to us as not only a living but also a growing changing character during the vital year and a half in which he and his union—the IWW—fought to defeat those who wished to bury the voice with the man.

There is a fresh little love scene, a quick convincing glimpse of the personal magnetism which won unwilling affection from a jailer and grudging admiration from a labor spy, and a host of other small personal contacts with men and women of all sorts, many of whom also stand out as individuals.

ONE COULD WELL imagine the labor spy, for example, developed into an illuminating full-length portrait in a play of his own—a different play. For Stavis has exercised admirable self-denial in keeping this and much other just-hinted-at psychological insight to a minimum while the dramatic interest remains centered on the life of Joe Hill and the war in which he fought.

The scrupulous sense of period which Stavis has maintained throughout makes all the more surprising such incomprehension as Brooks Atkinson displayed in saying that the play seems naive "in the world of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa." If one were to cavil at any unconscious identification of author and hero it would, in fact, be on the opposite side. The one really unconvincing picture in the play is that of Copper King Moody where, perhaps in an attempt to avoid the melodrama of truth, we have a serious underplaying of the sheer brutality and greed which contrasts sharply wtih the later successful portrait of ruthless ambition in Atty. Gen. Stone.

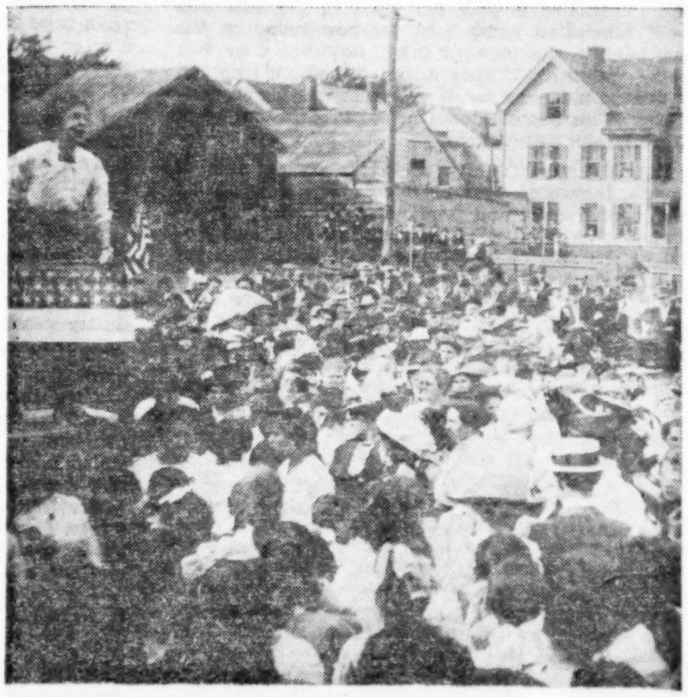
BUT THE PLAY as a whole is a truly moving and valuable theatrical experience which elicits a strong and sincere response. It is lovingly and skillfully presented by TV director Robert Mayberry and an excellent cast, many of them also well-known TV figures eagerly seizing this rare opportunity to act real people before a real audience.

Even Atkinson in his unsympathetic review gave unstinted praise to the actual dramatic production. As he said: "Most of the acting is also first rate. Mark Gordon, whose cheerful Joe Hill acquires a steel-like defiance through agonizing experience; Kermit Murdock, who acts Joe's lawyer with a relaxed somberness that is full of meaning; Dan Keyes, Stephen Gray, Richard Ward, Dorothy Butts, John Graham act with a clarity of characterization . . ."

It would be most unfortunate if lack of immediate and widespread public support were to deprive this unusual combination of talent and devotion of the recognition it deserves and the audiences which deserve it. Full houses for the next two weeks would certainly mean enough word of mouth publicity to insure a successful run.

—Annette T. Rubinstein

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn shown addressing a defense rally for Joe Hill before his execution by a firing squad in Utah in 1915.



'GOOD ONES' AND 'BAD ONES' ALIKE

Note to a critic: Artists ARE political

I RAN ACROSS a phrase in the N.Y. **Times Book Review** of Nov. 16, which has stuck in my throat. Horace Gregory, a poet and critic, in a review of a book about the poet, E. E. Cummings (**The Magic Maker**, by Charles Norman, Macmillan Co., New York, 400 pp. $8), says: "Cummings, like all true artists, is anti-political, and against all forms of state tyranny . . ." Does one have to be an artist to be "against all forms of state tyranny?" That's like opposing sin.

But is it true that all "true artists are anti-political?" Names of great artists flash across my mind: Beethoven, Chu Yuan, Wordsworth, Shelley, Whitman, Mistral, Milton, Dante, and so on. I do not begin to list Robeson, Neruda, Picasso, Guillen, Hughes, etc.

And not only the "good ones" but the "bad ones" too: Ezra Pound and Roy Campbell are true artists who were quite political. Perhaps the best known is T. S. Eliot, a true artist who proclaimed his royalist politics many years ago. Allen Tate is another, a poet whose sympathy for the old South is well known (his most anthologized poem is Elegy in a Confederate Church Yard).

IT IS TRUE that all artists in their best work rise above their class and political alignments. Shakespeare, who sang the tragedy of royalty, is a good example. But that does not imply that the true artist is "above" politics, or anti-political.

It may be that Gregory, who once contributed poems to **Proletarian Literature**, (N.Y., 1935), is following a current trend. Perhaps, by anti-political, he doesn't really mean anti-political. Perhaps, by state tyranny, he isn't referring to all kinds of "state tyranny." I suspect he is saying that in the U.S.A., 1958, the "true artist" does not mix in what is called "controversial" politics. That is, the true artist upholds the status quo, from jimcrow to General Motors.

Cummings, whom I knew well in my Paris days, is indeed a splendid example of the artist who has never, as far as I know, lifted a finger in his life or poetry for "an unpopular cause," or even a popular one, such as Republican Spain.

I AM NOT LECTURING Gregory for his views on Cummings' politics. There is no question where Cummings stands. Inaction is also a form of politics.

And yet, while we do not see eye-to-eye on politics, I do have something in common with Gregory and Cummings. No matter what your politics, it's tough to be a poet in the U.S.A. And it is testimony to that fact that Gregory, who used to know better, now says in the N.Y. **Times**: "All true artists are anti-political."

I think W. S. Gilbert, the English poet, was more accurate when he wrote:

Every boy and every girl
Who's born into this world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative.

—Walter Lowenfels

DEMANDS GROW TO REOPEN SCHOOLS

Virginia forced to take new look at 'massive resistance'

By Louis E. Burnham

LAST WEEK THE MASTER builder of Virginia's "massive resistance" to school integration admitted he would probably have to modify some of the architect's plans if the building is to withstand the stress of Federal law and the strain of public dissatisfaction.

The blueprint was drawn in 1956 when a special session of the General Assembly passed a sheaf of anti-integration laws demanded by the Democratic organization boss, Sen. Harry F. Byrd. Since then Byrd's lieutenant, Gov. J. Lindsay Almond, has made a brave try but has experienced increasing difficulty following the specifications.

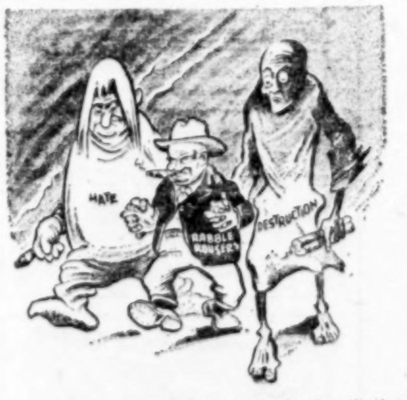
His troubles began in earnest last September when, to satisfy one of the statutes, he closed nine schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal to which a handful of Negro children had been assigned under Federal court orders. This locked some 13,000 white pupils out of classrooms and gave rise to the first widespread opposition to the Byrd-Almond regime.

BITTER ALMOND: Norfolk, the state's largest city and a cosmopolitan seaport town of 290,000 residents, became the main center of dissent. Students, teachers, parents, businessmen and church leaders requested that the six shut-down junior and senior high schools be returned to the city. They reasoned that a little integration was preferable to no education.

For a time the Governor maintained a posture of absolute defiance. When a delegation of prominent citizens representing the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools visited him on Oct. 24 he conceded that "public education in Virginia has received a staggering blow." But he went on to rail against the NAACP and its "cronies" on the Supreme Court. The Court decisions, he said, were unconstitutional and he did not feel obliged to obey them.

The delegation had brought a petition signed by 6,190 Norfolk citizens who wanted their schools reopened. They concluded, after an hour with Almond, that schools closed under "massive resistance" could not be opened again without running afoul of either state or Federal law. One lady member of the delegation, with Almond's defiance ringing in her ears, asked as she walked out of the State Capitol, "Which way is the American Embassy?"

REFERENDUM: The Nov. 4 election provided further evidence of anti-Byrd sentiment. Dr. Louise O. Wensel, practically unknown in political circles, ran as an independent against Sen. Byrd and polled more than 100,000 votes. Though Byrd's tally was 70% of the state total, Dr. Wensel's vote in the cities where schools have been closed indicated that "massive resistance" was fast losing supporters for the machine. In Charlottesville 1,401 voters cast ballots for Dr. Wensel while 2,690 stayed in the Byrd column. The Senator's margin in Norfolk was 13,231 to 8,720.



Baldy in Atlanta Constitution
THE INSEPARABLE TRIO

These Norfolk figures were almost duplicated on Nov. 18 when citizens returned to the polls in a special "informational" referendum on integration. The referendum had been scheduled by the city council to determine if the voters wanted it to petition the Governor to return the schools to municipal operation. The proposition on the ballot made it plain, however, that if the city got the schools back from Almond, parents would have to pay "a substantial fee" for the education of their children. The fee would be needed to make up the state subsidy which would be automatically withdrawn whenever state-closed classes were resumed on an integrated basis.

TEACHERS BALK: Segregationists blanketed the city with leaflets opposing the proposition. Supporters of open schools were late in getting their message across. Many felt there was little point in campaigning because the pro-segregation city council and Mayor W. Fred Duckworth would not be bound by the results of the "informational" ballot. With roughly half of the city's 40,000 qualified voters going to the polls, the final count revealed 12,340 votes against and 8,172 for petitioning the Governor to return the schools for operation as integrated institutions.

There were other signs that "massive resistance" did not mean unanimous defiance of Federal authority among Virginians. Norfolk teachers have set up a tutoring system which accommodates 3-4,000 pupils in makeshift classes held in church buildings and private homes. Another 3,000 youngsters have moved away, taken jobs, gotten married or in other ways eliminated themselves.

Three weeks ago the teachers began to realize that their tutoring service was spreading the illusion that the temporary arrangement could become a permanent form of education and voted to stop it at the end of the current semester.

THE EYEDROPPER: On Oct. 20-22 the Va. Congress of Parents and Teachers met in Richmond and listened to a fighting anti-integration speech by Gov. Almond. The next day a tie vote, 557-557, defeated a resolution supporting the Governor's "massive resistance" program. The teachers then went on to favor, by a bare 515-513 vote, a local-option plan under which school districts could decide whether they wanted to integrate or not. The incumbent administration also defeated a pro-Almond slate of candidates by 2-to-1.

The PTA action was preceded by a meeting of the Va. Education Assn. in which the state's teachers voted, four-to-one, to open the schools in compliance with Court mandates.

All these groups, in Norfolk and throughout the state, have emphasized that they are not integrationists. The teachers said they are "'not for integration, but for public education." The Norfolk Committee for Public Schools in its petition called for "minimum compliance with the Federal Court order." Many of the opponents of "massive resistance" urge the adoption of a program modeled after North Carolina's Pearsall plan. There the admission of Negro students to lily-white schools is severely limited by a state-controlled pupil placement machinery. As a result only 13 Negro students have gained access to white schools in three North Carolina cities. State officials hope the plan, which NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins dubbed "eyedropper integration," will meet the letter while defying the intention of the Supreme Court decisions.

DR. LOUISE O. WENSEL
Her vote surprised the machine

FLEXIBILE WAR: Despite any shortcomings in quality, the opposition to Virginia's diehard segregationists has been widespread enough to force Almond into a second look at the mess "massive resistance" has brewed in the state. Sen. Byrd recently called for no deviation from this plan, but it is the Governor, not he, who must answer suits which are now being heard in state and Federal courts for invalidation of the Byrd-inspired laws. With the prospect that the laws will be knocked out, Almond must revise Byrdism or be caught with his jimcrow plans down.

The Governor's announcement of the probable shift was preceded by editorial forecasts in Richmond's influential morning and afternoon papers, the **News Leader** and the **Times-Dispatch**. Both have been fervent champions of all-out resistance; both now counsel a "prompt reappraisal."

Virginius Dabney, **Times-Dispatch** editor, said that continuation of a program whose main result was keeping white children out of school with no legal way of getting them back in, was "suicidal." James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the **News Leader**, urged that the state's "war" must be kept flexible and contended that unless Virginia risked "some degree of integration" its white supremacists would be "defeated by our own bull-headedness."

DIAGNOSIS: If the present laws are invalidated by the courts, Almond could call a special session of the legislature to draft a new plan. Its object would not be essentially different from the grand design of architect Byrd. It would seek to keep as many Negro children as possible from going to school with whites without inviting Federal sanctions or popular displeasure.

The Governor summed up his predicament by likening integration to a disease. "I would not willingly yield to smallpox," he said, "but I might get it. I would continue to try to eradicate it from my system." Virginia, near the bottom of the list of states in almost every index of educational achievement, was plainly very sick but the Governor was confusing the cause with the cure of the disease.

End of witch-hunts?

(Continued from Page 1)

was raised again last week in the case of David E. Scull, a Quaker, of Annandale, Va., who had refused to answer 31 questions put to him by the Virginia Legislative Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities. Among the questions Scull turned aside were several asking about his associations with the NAACP, the B'nai B'rith, the American Civil Liberties Union and whether he had contributed to funds seeking to assist law suits on school integration. Scull was found guilty of contempt and sentenced to 10 days in jail and a $50 fine.

In presenting Scull's appeal to the Supreme Court last week, attorney Joseph L. Rauh Jr. said that the legislative committee had been set up as part of Virginia's "massive resistance" to school integration and that it was headed by James M. Thompson, an avowed segregationist leader. Rauh told the Justices: "It's a topsy-turvy world if Mr. Scull can be sent to jail for trying to vindicate this Court's decisions by a person who proclaims himself a leading opponent of those decisions." He called the committee's work "a bad means to a bad end."

ALABAMA PRECEDENT: To have answered Thompson's questions, the lawyer said, would have subjected Scull to "suspicion by the credulous and hatred by the bigoted."

Both the Scull and Uphaus cases rest to some extent on a ruling handed down by the Court last spring holding that the State of Alabama could not demand disclosure of NAACP membership lists. At the Scull hearing Chief Justice Earl Warren and others on the bench agreed with Rauh that there was no difference between insisting that the NAACP make its rolls public and requiring that individuals say whether or not they are members.

THE BARENBLATT CASE: A third witch-hunt case reaching the court last week was that of Lloyd Barenblatt, former psychology instructor at Vassar. In 1954 the House Committee on Un-American Activities sought publicly to question Barenblatt's political beliefs. He refused to tell the Committee whether or not as a student he had been a member of the CP or to discuss the politics of his colleagues. He was fired by Vassar, then tried for contempt, convicted, sentenced to six months in jail and fined $250.

The case had been appealed to the Supreme Court before and was sent back to the Appeals Court for reconsideration in the light of the Watkins ruling which requires investigators clearly to indicate the purpose of their questions to witnesses. The Appeals Court upheld the original verdict and last week the case reached the High Court again.

UNCLEAR BUT CLEAR: Attorney Edward J. Ennis of the ACLU assailed the resolution setting up the Un-American Committee as unconstitutional and vague. Philip R. Monahan, arguing the government's side, admitted that the Committee had not "expressly" explained the pertinency of its questions to Barenblatt but insisted that their purpose was clear, anyway.

Ennis charged that the resolution authorizing the Committee did not give it the right to enter the "delicate area of education." Answering that charge, Monahan admitted that the original resolution was vague but argued that in any case the House of Representatives had indicated its approval of an investigation of the schools.

Some observers, noting the reaction of the Justices, thought that the witch-hunters, finally on the defensive, might be on the run when the Court hands down its ruling on these three cases almost any Monday from now on.

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Where old and new meet

SAMARKAND, UZBEK S.S.R.

SAMARKAND is a crossroads of old and new in the heart of Soviet Asia. Incomparable are its monuments of the 14th and 15th centuries, partly ruined by earthquakes and inhabited by multitudes of birds. These include the tomb of Tamerlaine, who in brick and stone glazed with never-fading peacock hues glorified Allah for his successful pillage and rape of half of Asia. Above his mummified body and those of his associates and four wives, mighty cupolas, arches and minarets reach for the sky. Scattered among these are silvered Lenin and Stalin effigies in the Stalin-era style.

The effigies may be an artistic eyesore in this setting, but nowhere in the U.S.S.R. is the desire more understandable to memorialize the fathers of the revolution and of the Soviet nationalities policy. In Samarkand one may see the new central Asia cheek-by-jowl with what remains of the old: turbaned Ali Baba types astride panniered donkeys; merchants haggling with customers across their market stalls as they might have done over the price of magic lamps.

The old Samarkand is clean and free from beggars, prostitutes and smells. And every child has shoes and reasonable clothing and goes to school, and every woman is her own exclusive property. The new part of Samarkand is a city of teeming industry, of broad shady boulevards bustling with cars, trucks, taxis and buses.

IN STALINABAD we saw the whole community involving itself in the 1,100th anniversary of Rudaki, the Tadjik poet unknown in the West but beloved by the ordinary people here and a major influence on many Asian cultures. We saw the predominantly Tadjik-language press, Tadjik schools (with Russian ones as an alternative if desired), and the magnificent public library decorated in Persian style with mural likenesses of the fathers of national culture.

MASTER AND APPRENTICE
The old arts are retained

We have seen the monuments to leading Tadjiks and Uzbeks of the past, the facilities and freedom given to Moslem institutions, and the care and pride with which ancient religions and other manuscripts are preserved. We have seen and heard Tadjik and Uzbek concerts, the performers introducing just as much or as little Russian or Western motifs as they felt inclined (the highlight of one was **Besame Mucho** sung in Tadjik).

If there is strong pro-Russian sentiment here, this policy is responsible for it. Nobody needs to be told about the "normal" policies of great powers toward nations under their "protection." Moscow's tightened control over industry and farms throughout the U.S.S.R. did arouse complaints; but these tensions have been relieved by industrial decentralization and abolition of the Machine & Tractor Stations from which farm collectives formerly had to hire machinery. Now purchasing their own machines, and relieved of compulsory state deliveries of produce at fixed prices, the farmers feel in full control of their collectives.

CENTRAL ASIA is the answer to those Western "liberals" who insist that many generations are needed to lift a backward country up to the advanced level without tears. The proof is here that all the essential problems can be solved within a generation, provided that policies are based on two solid facts of life.

One of these is that the more advanced people must make temporary sacrifices, for the laying of the foundations requires enormous capital expenditures for no immediate return. The 30-year transformation of central Asia could not have happened if the Russians had not poured out gifts of materials, machines and know-how. The other is that a spirit of unselfish service for the common good must find expression among the people who are backward through no fault of their own.

These facts were well understood by Indian and Pakistani delegates to the Tashkent conference, who saw much to relate with conditions and needs at home. We discussed the second point as we stood on the "beach" of the artificial swimming and boating lake created in Stalinabad by Komsomol volunteers—a significant contribution to happiness in this hot climate so far from any ocean.

The Indians and Pakistanis talked of the many places in their countries where better water resources would make the creation of such an amenity materially easier than here yet where there was no prospect of creating it. The question was, how to arouse in the young people the spirit necessary for its creation by voluntary labor. A Pakistani delegate said: "If it can be done here, of course it could be in my country. But one must remember that here they have socialism."

That socialism is not a magic, but a road with its own kind of pitfalls, progressives everywhere have become more aware than they used to be. But most of Asia and Africa see it as the key to the gate, and the West's "liberals" make no progress toward persuading them that there is any other. —**Cedric Belfrage**

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CALENDAR

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BERYOZKA DANCERS from **USSR** in Chicago January 9-11. Tickets and information from Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 32 W. Randolph. AN 3-1877.

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DETROIT

"HOW CAN WE STOP DRIFT TO WORLD WAR III?"

Hear **I. F. STONE**, Sat., Dec. 6, 8:30 p.m. McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Wayne State University, 2nd Blvd., corner Ferry. Questions! Discussion! Registration 90c, students 50c. Ausp: Detroit Labor Forum.

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"THE U.S., THE UN & CHINA"

A one-day seminar sponsored by American Friends Service Committee at Charles St. Meeting House, Boston. Sat., Dec. 6. Speakers include: **Edgar Snow, John Carter Vincent, Prof. John K. Fairbank, Gerald Bailey, the Hon. H. Dayal, Gregory Smith.** Conference Chairman: **Prof. Allen H. Cole.** Registration $2.50 ($1.50 for students) through Peace Section of A.F.S.C., P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

PHILADELPHIA

30th Anniversary Celebration
of **THE MILITANT**

DANIEL ROBERTS, Editor "The Militant" will speak on "The Road to Socialism in America & the USSR." Sat., Dec. 13, at 1303 W. Girard Av. Refreshments—6:30 p.m., Festive Baked Ham Dinner, 7:30 p.m., Meeting 9 p.m., followed by a Social Night of Music, Dancing, etc. For dinner reservations call SA 7-2166. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

The Bronx Sobell Committee presents **EARL ROBINSON** at their **NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY**, Allerton Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. For tickets phone (Manhattan) AL 4-9983, (Bronx) TR 8-6471. Subscription: $5 couple.

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8:30—Problems of Left Unity **William Albertson**
Wed. 6:45—The "New Capitalism" **Myer Weise**
8:30—Aspects of Soviet Law **Leon Josephson**
Thurs. 6:45—The Jewish Question **J. M. Budish**
8:30—Music of Beethoven **Sidney Finkelstein**
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DR. JOSHUA KUNITZ

author, expert on Jewish history and Soviet literature, on "Reflections on Soviet Jewry."
Date: **WED., DEC 10, 8:30 P.M.**
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BOOK WORLD, Brooklyn's only progressive book store, invites you to **a BOOK FAIR and BAZAAR,** Sat., Dec. 6, 1-8 p.m., at Brighton Center, 3200 Coney Island Av. Bargains & discounts on books, records, art prints you have wanted for holiday and Chanukah gifts. Beautiful selection of children's books. Come, meet and talk to your good friends from all over. Meet outstanding writers, artists, other celebrities. Books from Soviet Union & Peoples' China will delight you. Bring the children. Refreshments will be served. REMEMBER—SAT., DEC. 6, 3200 Coney Island Av.

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CORRECTION

The address of the sponsors of Beryozka Dancers Reception, United Festival Committee, was incorrectly listed last week. **The correct address is 19 W. 27 St., New York City.**

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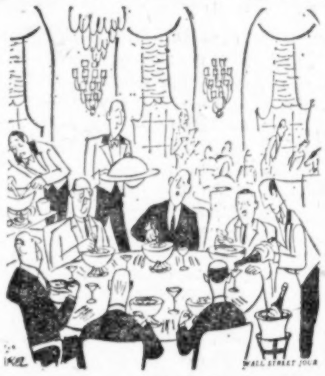
THE GALLERY

IT WOULD SEEM that a major tenet of Madison Av. gray-flannelism is that you can sell the public anything if you package it properly. One disciple apparently is State Rep. W. H. Reedy of Leesburg, Fla., who wants the South to collect a million-dollar fund to sell the North on racial segregation. He is looking for a public relations expert to handle the job. . . . If he wants sex in the package, an ideal candidate is Russell Birdwell of Hollywood, Calif., who modestly bills himself as "the world's greatest press agent." Considering the job he is doing for client Diane Hartman, maybe he is. Last month Birdwell took double-page ads in all Hollywood trade papers headlined: "Hollywood Needs A New Woman." Below was a picture of his client, a young woman of pleasing physical proportions, wearing a soaking-wet man's shirt, open half-way down, clinging and semi-transparent. The copy read: "The new woman is here. An untamed animal who possesses a dramatic talent of which legends are made. A 22-year-old nymphet—desirable but unattainable—an unchained wench. Now—on the Hollywood block to the highest bidder. The count down has begun. Diane Hartman is going into orbit."

Miss Hartman remained on the ground, but show business moguls flipped. In a few days she was offered the starring role in a musical and parts in six TV shows. She rejected all: "I am interested only in being a movie star. I will play only at the top level. I want everything."

A YOUNG WOMAN IN OHIO who worked for the defeat of Republican Gov. O'Neill and the right-to-work amendment sent the Governor a telegram after his defeat: "Now YOU have the right to work." . . . An ad in a Washington, D.C., paper, extending a "welcome to the newly-elected 86th Congress" raised a few eyebrows. It was from a hotel for girls only . . . . Three 14-year-old boys ran away from home in La Salle, Ill., because they "didn't like school." When a sheriff picked them up a few miles away he asked where they were headed. "To Little Rock," they answered . . . Economist Robert G. Shortal has a novel way of charting economic crises. He notes that in years when the N.Y. Yankees won the World Series, the economy boomed; when they lost, the country had a recession. Shall we pray Mickey Mantle has a good season next year?



Wall Street Journal

"There are several ways in which we might reduce operating expenses, gentlemen. Take the paper-clip situation, for instance . . ."

THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY has ordered all state and Party officials and leaders of youth and other social organizations to do at least one month of manual labor a year to keep in touch with the people. . . . Men's clothes are to be "modernized" in the U.S.S.R. to eliminate long overcoats, bell-bottom trousers and exaggerated shoulder padding. If they follow the American trend, Khrushchev may show up at the next summit conference in an Ivy-league cap. . . . A Paris court ordered a plastic surgeon to pay strip-teaser Sonia Silver $714 for leaving a six-inch scar on her abdomen after an operation to flatten her stomach. . . . The recession is over! Russeks announced a sharp increase in the demand for $5,000 mink coats. . . . A sign on a New York store reads: "Keep 14th Street green —bring money." . . . The **Wall Street Journal** reports: "The Interstate Commerce Commission gets monthly reports on transportation in Russia from the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency."

ACCORDING TO THE International Cooperation Administration, the American taxpayer is donating $48,000,000 annually for pensions for Chiang Kai-shek's retired soldiers. . . . British publications **New Reasoner** and **Universities and Left Review** are offering annual subscriptions for both at the bargain rate of $4 from New Reasoner, Holly Bank, Whitegate, Halifax . . . Ed Shattuck, Republican national committeeman from Pasadena, Calif., believes the GOP "must take a good look at its sales department—we failed to sell our very real accomplishments to the people." . . . Apparently they found no sales resistance at the White House; according to Drew Pearson, Eisenhower spent election night watching westerns on TV. . . . Vernon Ward's book of poems, **Of Dust and Stars,** will be published soon by Exposition Press in New York. . . . Robert J. Jeffries, president of Data Control Systems, Inc., says it is possible to build an electronic gadget that can make management decisions. It wouldn't be much of an innovation—we've had machine thinking in Washington for 13 years.

—Robert E. Light

Powell-Schuman dinner in Philadelphia Nov. 30

PHILADELPHIANS are invited to a Chinese dinner for the benefit of the Powell-Schuman Defense Committee on Sunday, Nov. 30, at 7 p.m., in St. Andrew's Auditorium, 36th and Pearl Sts., Philadelphia. Menu will include Manchurian barbecued lamb and Chinese dumplings, Peking style. Donation for adults, $3; for children under 12, $1.50. For reservations and further information call BAring 2-0630.

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NEWSPAPER

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THE STORY OF DINOSAURS by Stanley and Barbara Brown of the U. of California in Berkeley. Full length illustrated book about dinosaurs, carnivores, flying reptiles, ancient sea serpents and many other fascinating creatures of the Age of Reptiles. Full index and bibliography. By two outstanding authorities on science teaching **$2.75**

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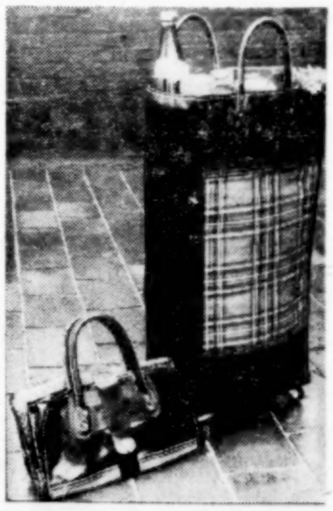

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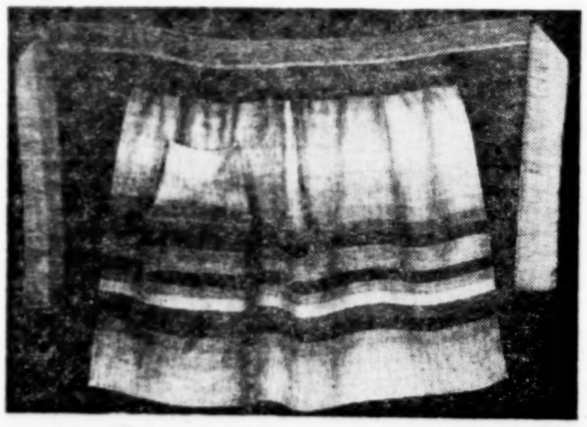

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Children's Records

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FP701 AMERICAN FOLK SONGS for children sung by Pete Seeger with banjo. All Around the Kitchen, Bill Barlow, Bought Me A Cat, Clap Your Hands, Frog Went a-Courting, Jim Along Josie, Jim Crack Corn, She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain, This Old Man, Train is a-Coming. Text.
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